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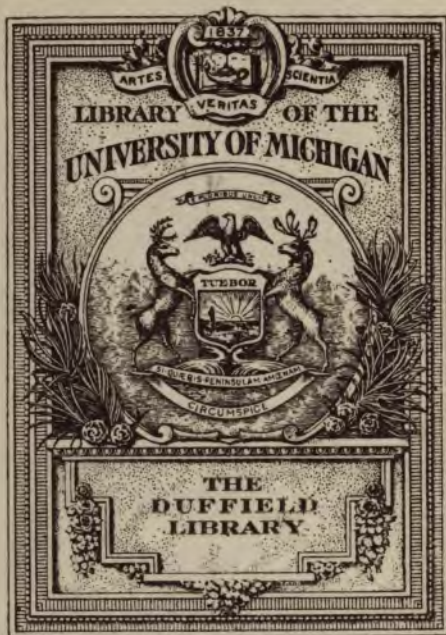
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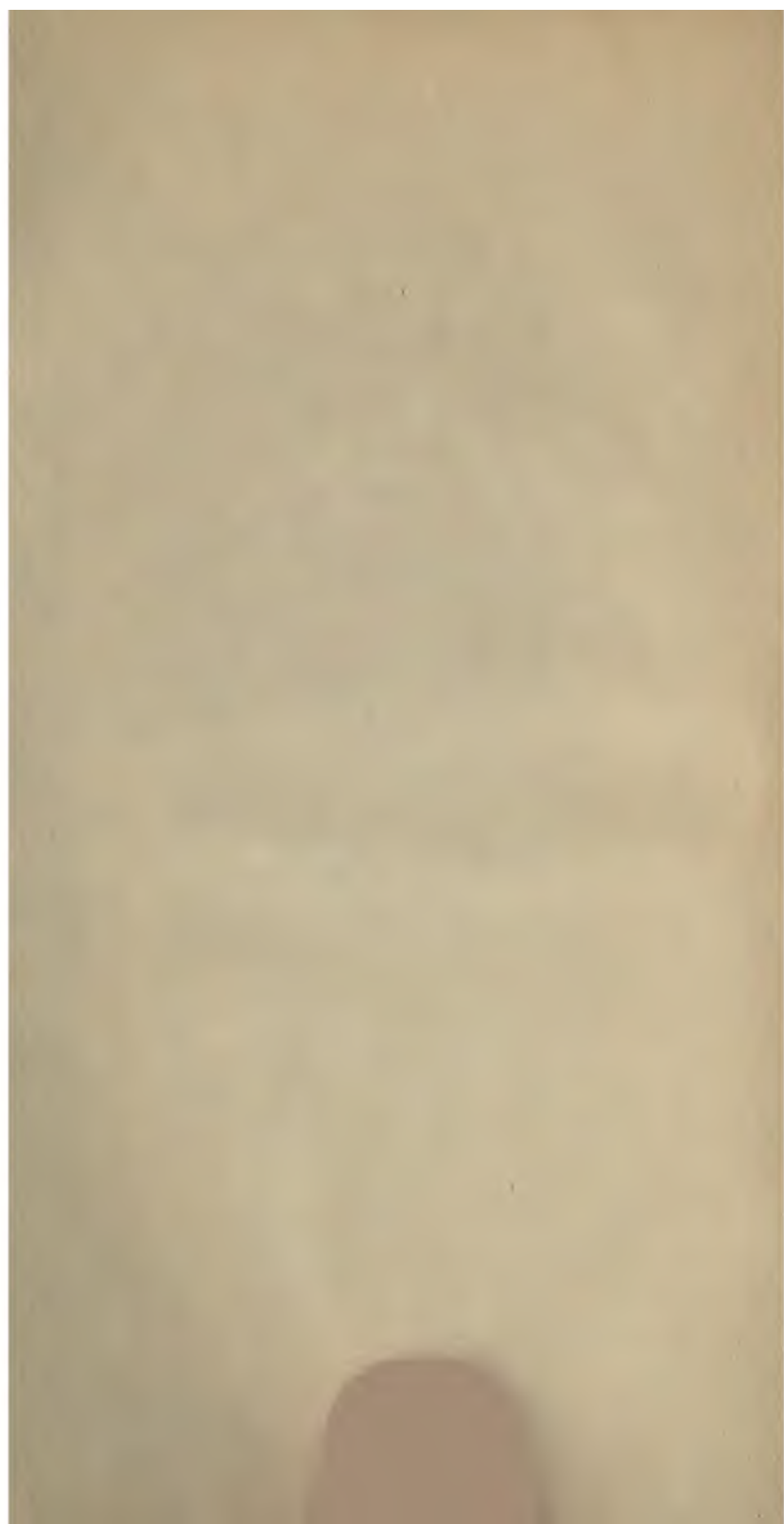
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THE GIFT OF
THE TAPPAN PRESBY-
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THE ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL GREATNESS.

AN

A D D R E S S

BEFORE THE

NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY

OF THE

CITY OF NEW YORK,

December 22, 1842.

BY REV. GEORGE B. ^{Barrell}CHEEVER,

PASTOR OF THE ALLEN STREET PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, NEW YORK.

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New York, Dec. 31, 1842.

Rev. GEORGE B. CHEEVER,

Sir :—

As a Committee appointed on behalf of the New England Society, in the City of New York, and whose individual opinions render the service in every way agreeable, we return to you the sincere thanks of the Society, for the Address delivered by you before them at the Tabernacle, on the 22d inst. ; and earnestly request, that a copy of an Address, so full of the spirit and principles of our forefathers, may be given the Society for publication.

We are, very respectfully,

Your Friends and Servants,

THOMAS FESSENDEN,

H. P. PEET,

EDWARD S. GOULD.

New York, January 10, 1843.

GENTLEMEN :

I thank you sincerely for your very kind note, requesting for publication a copy of the Address delivered before the New England Society, on the 22d of December, and have great pleasure in complying with your request.

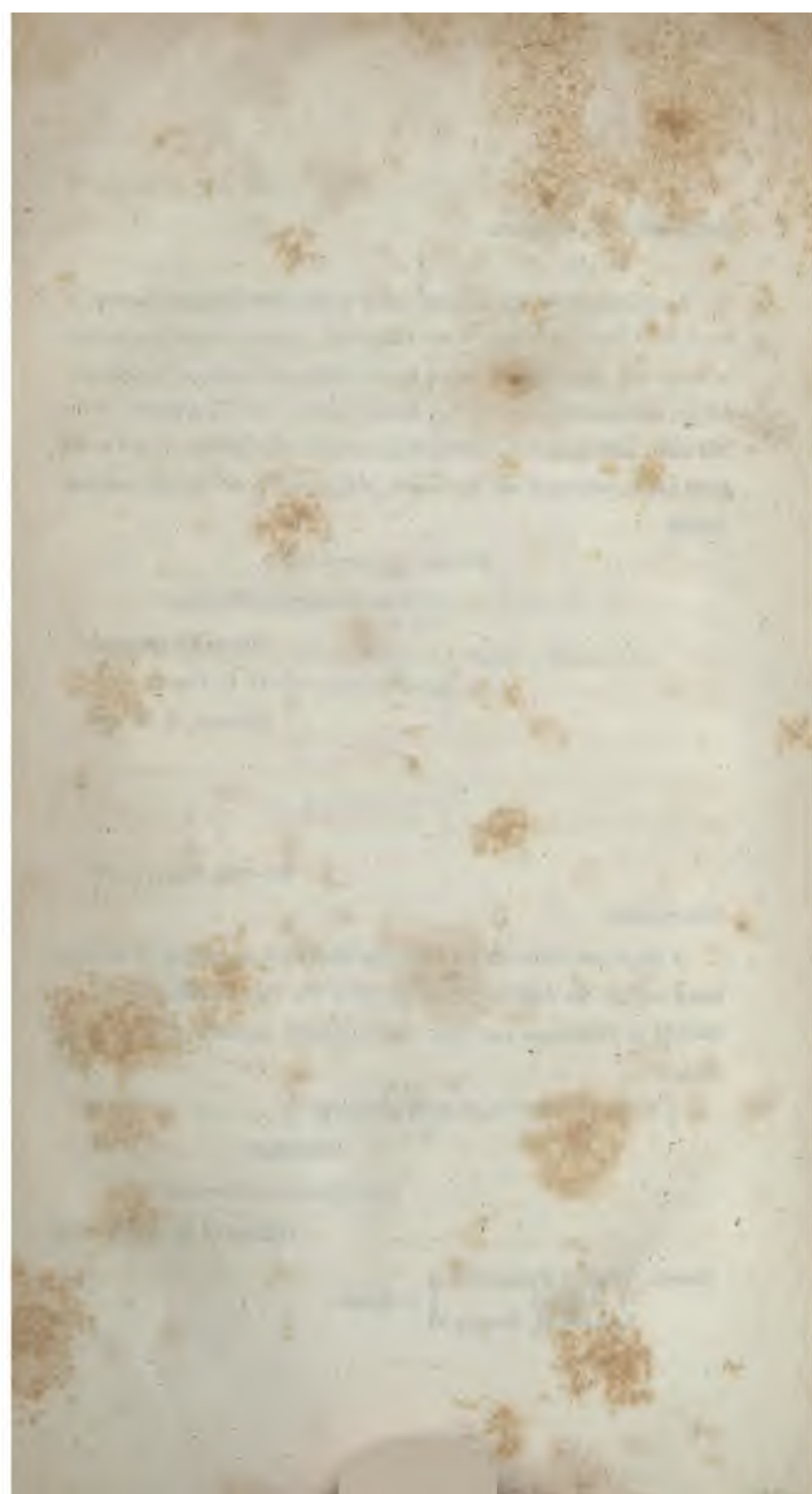
I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Gentlemen,

Your Friend and Servant,

GEORGE B. CHEEVER.

Messrs. THOMAS FESSENDEN, }
H. P. PEET, } Committee.
EDWARD S. GOULD, }



A D D R E S S .

SIR WILLIAM JONES, among the multiplicity of his compositions, has left an ode commencing with the following question : *What constitutes a State?* This question comprehends my subject. I propose to dwell upon the Elements of National Greatness. We are certainly entered on a new cycle in the affairs of men ; for a nation might, in times past, have become great by means which now are altogether inadequate. The city which Cain built, though it bore the stamp of the first murderer, became, before the deluge, a mighty city, and the heart of a great Empire. But no kingdom in the antediluvian world was truly great. What constitutes a State? Let the poet and legislator first answer.

Not high-raised battlement or laboured mound,
Thick wall or moated gate ;
Not cities proud with spires and turrets crowned ;
Not bays and broad-armed ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride ;
Not starred and spangled courts
Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume to pride.
No ~~men~~ men, high-minded men,
Men, who their duties know
But know their rights, and knowing dare maintain.
These constitute a State,
And Sovereign Law that State's collected will.

Men constitute a State, and the character of the State depends upon the character of the men. One of the most impartial foreign judges of our own country is reported to have given, as the result of his study and observation, that the American institutions are good, but the people not good enough to support them. We pray God that this may not prove to be true. But let us run over some of the Elements necessary to National Greatness, and see what among them we possess, and of what we are destitute.

1. In the first place, A GOOD PARENTAGE is requisite. Hereditary qualities may be traced in nations as in individuals. The forty years' history of the Hebrews in the wilderness teaches a lesson of importance. It was necessary that that generation should all die, that they should turn, return, and toil upon their pilgrimage, till the whole race of hereditary bondmen had become extinct; and even then the taint of idolatry and slavery remained in them. Now we may justly love to speak of our parentage as a people. And we may take courage in dwelling upon the love of God in rocking the cradle of our ancestry by storms and discipline, instead of the syren lullaby of a sensual court and a gorgeous hierarchy. If a man is ever to be one of God's great instruments of good to his race, the preparation must be made in laying the foundations of his character. It is too late to seek to form new men for the occasion when the crisis has come, and the habits are already no more than those of ordinary manhood. A man's discipline must commence and go for-

ward with the other causes, which God is making to operate for the world's changes, or it cannot be produced in a night. No man can go to sleep a common man, to awake, on the morning of a political or ecclesiastical revolution, a hero or a deep Christian. Napoleon's character was forming with the silent progress of the causes which prepared the French revolution. And Luther's character, by as much greater than Napoleon's as his cause was nobler and holier, was cut as with the point of a diamond, and wrought into its unchanging, steadfast, reliable qualities, in lonely spiritual discipline, in the cloisters at Erfurth. What is true of men is true of nations. The "yoke" must be "borne in the youth," if we would have qualities that shall awe the world in manhood.

The discipline of our ancestors in laying the foundations of many generations in this country, was what we might suppose it would be, if God intended that in the coming era of glory in the world we should be found among the number of his favoured nations, when, in a national sense, God shall "make up his jewels." If ever a free people wrought out an inheritance of liberty through trials, it was our pilgrim ancestors. They went out from one fire into another fire that seemed ready to devour them. What the wolves of despotism and church tyranny had left undone in one hemisphere, the wolves and savages of the woods in another seemed ready to finish. By trials they were prepared for trials. They were the best part of the population of Europe; but it was necessary that in Europe itself they should put off their European taint, and receive those germinating principles, which

should be transplanted with them, to rise in a fresh soil above that great growth of underweeds, which otherwise in Europe would have overpowered them.

They were a race that grew out of the noblest principles of the Reformation. Until the Reformation had begun to purify the world, there was no such race in existence; God and man might have looked about in vain for the materials of a virtuous colonization of this country. We cannot help remarking how wonderful was that Divine Providence, which turned aside the ships of Columbus from the Northern Coasts of this great Continent; which kept the forests and the rocks of New England hidden from the world at a time when nothing but the *auri sacra fames*, the accursed thirst of gold, occupied men's souls; at a time when there was neither religion nor patriotism to colonize a new country, but avarice, bigotry, and despotism to oppress it; hidden, until a race of men should be ready for His purposes. "Had New England been colonized immediately on the discovery of the American Continent," says the accomplished native historian of our own country,* "the old English institutions would have been planted under the powerful influence of the Roman Catholic religion; had the settlement been made under Elizabeth, it would have been before the activity of the popular mind in religion had conducted to a corresponding activity of mind in politics. The Pilgrims were English Protestants; they were exiles for religion; they were men disciplined by misfortune, cultivated by opportunity of external observation, equal in

* Mr. Bancroft.

rank as in rights, and bound by no code but ~~that~~ of religion or the public will." I should add to this, that the public will would no more have bound our Puritan ancestors than private despotism, had they felt it to be opposed to the dictates of religion. And I must reiterate, what we ought never to forget, when the character of the Puritans is in question, that remarkable eulogium bestowed upon them by Hume, — that amidst the absolute authority of the Crown, "the precious spark of liberty had been kindled, and was preserved BY THE PURITANS ALONE; and it is to this sect that the English owe THE WHOLE FREEDOM OF THEIR CONSTITUTION." I wonder at this historian, and with my whole heart I thank him, that with all his partialities and prejudices, he should have penned concerning the Puritans a paragraph of such high, bold, undaunted truth.

As natives of New England, we are proud of the claims of a Puritan and a Protestant ancestry. These two appellatives have comprehended about as much virtue, nobleness, freedom, and piety, as the world is ever likely to witness in combination. And as to the sterner virtues of our Puritan ancestors, which it has become fashionable in some quarters to depreciate, — I do not wonder that a sensual world and a self-indulgent spirit carp at them. "Indeed," said the great Edmund Burke, on a great occasion, "the whole class of the severe and restrictive virtues are at a market almost too high for humanity." Nevertheless, it is by the spirit of those virtues alone, that our institutions can be preserved, or that we, as a people, can be made, what we hope we yet

may be, the salt of freedom and religion to the world. Our Puritan ancestors were disciplined by self-denial ; this comprehends the whole foundation of their character ; for self-denial is, and to fallen beings ever must be, the ground of all virtue. The inheritance which, in the exercise of "the severe and restrictive virtues," they procured for us by suffering, can be preserved by us, or imparted to the world, only through a participation in the same discipline. Luxury on our part, and sarcasms on our fathers' virtues, will never do it.

2. One of the qualities which distinguished our Puritan ancestors was A HIGH REGARD FOR THE WORD OF GOD and high views of its inspiration. This is one of the qualities, by which, as the world approaches its state of glory, nations must be distinguished as well as men. This quality must be a national element, above all sectarianism, entering into all developements of national life, in whatever organizations, but especially in Common Schools. Our common schools are to the nation what the lungs are to the body ; and any foul or bitter elements that enter into them will be followed by disease and paleness in our national existence. A pure atmosphere of divine truth is as necessary to the health and life of these national vitalities, as a due quantity of oxygen to the physical play of the lungs. Suffer your schools to be turned from their noble purposes for party ends, or to be defrauded of the Word of God, and you put the seeds of consumption in the vital organs of your country ; sooner or later the fruits

will make their appearance;—the hectic fever, the wild pulse, the breaking up of the system, must follow.

3. In addition to this, I may next remark, that the grand principle of Protestantism, which is **PRIVATE JUDGMENT OF THE SCRIPTURES**, must characterize a nation, as well as high views of their divine authority. This is one of the elements of freedom of thought. Bind a man in his religion, and you have bound him essentially, and may do with him what you please. The Romanists know this. Chain a man's religious opinions to any court, church, council, or canonized father, to any thing but the Bible, and your fetters are upon his liberty, your iron has entered into his soul.

From spiritual despotism to civil and political the path is short, easy, inevitable. Hence, we cannot but view with the most jealous distrust the progress of that anti-Protestant tendency which has been stealing upon us from a monarchy and a Church-Establishment. We should look upon this matter in the spirit of no sect, but in the light of an interest dear to us all as the common light of day, whether we be Christians or infidels. This interest is that of every man of this Republic, who is not ready to give up the grand principle of republicanism, the right of private judgment and action in regard to the men, principles, and measures of the administration of his country's government. Dearly as I might love my church, were I indissolubly bound to any form of church government, I would rather it were in the bottom of the salt sea sunk, than made a machinery

of manacles and fetters for the souls of men. I am sure that this growing scorn of the Reformation, and this depreciation of the grand principle of private judgment in matters of religion, springs not from a new form of piety, but from the ever vital spirit of despotism in the old world. And if anywhere I could trace the proofs of that foreign conspiracy, which has been asserted, against the liberties of this country, and against all mankind through our subjection, I could find it here.

Private judgment in matters of faith, private judgment in matters of liberty,—these are two kindred rights and possessions. The destruction of them both constitutes a perfect despotism. Take away either, and you endanger the other; but the bridge is more easily thrown up from the destruction of the first to that of the second, and then your spiritual despotism may march her troops across into your civil territory almost without notice, because it takes us on our noble side. We are not apt to suspect our religion of endangering our liberties; and hence this union of spiritual and civil despotism may be going on, may have been consummated, and a people yet be scarcely aware *that* it is done, or *how* it is done. This noble Protestant principle therefore is to be sacredly preserved and guarded as an element of national greatness. No where in the world is there a more complete subjection of the national mind, a thicker covering of the fire of liberty with frosty ashes, than where this principle is disregarded or repudiated.

I have seen this. Travelling across the Tyrol Alps, where

the forms of Hofer and his noble band might seem to be at every step around the traveller, where the spirit of freedom seems a quality in the bracing air, and the very mountains are uttering to the storms the chant of man's liberty and immortality, even there, as I enter the city of Innsbruck, cradled as it is in among mountains, that with every glance upward flash defiance to the tyrant, I see the open mouths of brazen cannon planted across the public square, and I, a citizen of the United States, am defended at the point of the bayonet from stepping beyond the line of their enclosure, even in a time of profound peace! Why was this? I know of but one solution, one meaning in the vigilance of tyranny. That public square, lynx-eyed despotism had fixed upon as the place, in the heart of that city, whither its patriots would rush to the rescue, if at any time the spirit of liberty should grow too strong for its restraints. It was in an Austrian region that I had to conceal my Italian Bibles, which I wished to carry as a present from a friend to a friend in Italy, lest I might get into difficulty from being found with such an instrument of religious and civil freedom upon my person. All tyrants know, with the instinct of despotism, that if Faith instead of superstition gets possession of the people, there is an end to their power of bondage. The principle of private judgment would overturn the gorgeous structure of civil and religious tyranny from its foundation. Men have bound the world in a civil and religious frost like iron; — well may they be afraid of Faith; it is a spring thaw, that loosens the avalanche.

The State alone has impressed despotism enough upon men, but the State alone has usually left the religious being of mankind free. The State in union with the Church develops another form of despotism, and carries tyranny into the spiritual world, and thence back again with additional strength into the political world. The union of Church and State not only supplies religious fanaticism with political power, but it arms political tyranny with the sanctions of the unseen world.

A sect united with the State is sure to persecute: the power of persecution must be taken away, and kept away forever. It is not that the Romanist, the Congregationalist, the Socinian, or the Prelatist, has not the perfect right to choose his own religion, and to worship in it with a freedom like the air that he breathes; but it is that he has *not* the right to enforce his religion upon me, or to make the unhallowed and arrogant assumption, that his Church alone is *the* Church of Christ on earth, and that all others are to be consigned over to God's "uncovenanted mercies," especially when this enforcement is grounded on the possession of certain arbitrary forms, instead of the truth as it is in Jesus. Do you wish to see the tendency of such assumptions? I will read to you a passage from a British Review of high authority, a passage worthy of the palmiest state of Popery in the noon of the world's night: "All the members of a State ought to belong to one established Church; and wherever the contrary is the case, it proves a source of weakness to that State, which then ceases to live by its internal vitality,

and must seek its support from without. * Where, however, the number of Dissenters is small, and the State powerful, the danger is less imminent. Strictly speaking, religious sects can only be *tolerated* in a State, and the rank they hold in it can be only one degree higher than that held by Jews"! These are detestable sentiments; I only say, God forbid they should ever get root in this country, which they would do, should the spirit of Romanism prevail. The very word *toleration* is a disgrace to the English language; it is a reproach to the tongue of any free people to utter it in reference to religion, for it comprehends the whole essence of despotism. Religious toleration! Nor is the word *dissent* in our country, a whit better, justly exposing any sect that shall undertake to fling it out to others, to the ridicule and reproach of Christendom.

4. Intimately connected with this principle of private judgment of the Scriptures, and freedom in religious opinion, is another truth, which, in its combination with the being of nations, passes into a quality and a characteristic; and must henceforth be an indispensable element of national greatness, the great truth of JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH. Here, again, I speak the language of no sect, but of that universal wisdom which is above all sects, and by which all sects, that do not mean to die, must live. And I fearlessly affirm that this principle is as essential to the true greatness of a nation, as it is to the salvation of an individual soul. I affirm that it is, if only on the ground that this principle is at once the

principle of true spiritual freedom, and the source of a pure morality; a morality that takes a man's being, and a country's being out of self into disinterestedness; a morality not of mint, anise, and cummin, but of noble deeds springing from noble hearts; the spontaneous offering of forgiven children to a forgiving parent; not to buy forgiveness, but as its fruit; not *to be* forgiven, but *because* forgiven. As to the essence of freedom, Mr. Burke once said, with singular energy as well as truth, "he that fears God, fears nothing else;" but the fear of God, which takes away every other fear, comes only out of Faith; and perfect freedom is possible on no other conditions but those which make God our Father and us His children. We cannot believe that that principle, which binds together the whole family in earth and heaven, which shall be the constituting element of principalities and powers that are to endure when creation shall have passed away, can be of no importance in our national existence upon earth. In truth, we are but as the grub, the low chrysalis, in our present state, in comparison with that transfiguration, which is to take place through the pervading power of this principle in our social, political, and literary existence. This is that cup of immortality, which, whatsoever nation drinks it, shall pass into a permanence of glory, no more to be eclipsed, shadowed, or dissolved, till the final conflagration.

This principle was Luther's *Articulus stantis vel cadentis Ecclesiae*. It is just as much so in politics and literature as in religion. We have had on this earth a long trial without it, without the preserving elements of a national existence.

This world has been the theatre of a mighty experiment ; whether nations could be prosperous and permanent in pride and sin. The result has been overwhelming. Empire after empire has fallen to the ground. I have passed over the ruins of dead and buried kingdoms, have seen the shades of departed monarchies, and conversed with them, haunting the spots of their former glory ; and the hollow voice, as if the wind were moaning from earth's central sepulchres, has spoken in the words of Scripture, deep unto deep, in my hearing, THE NATION AND KINGDOM THAT WILL NOT SERVE THEE SHALL PERISH ; YEA, THOSE NATIONS SHALL BE UTTERLY WASTED. It is a solemn thing to stand in the Colosseum at Rome, beneath the shadow of the Parthenon at Athens, within the crumbling shrine of the temple of Karnak in Egypt, and to listen to the echo of those awful words. These historical materials and monuments, are so many intelligent chords, which men's iniquities have wrought for that great Harp of the Past, across which God's Spirit sweeps with its majestic, awful utterance ! God grant that the history of our nation may not add another tone of wailing to the melancholy voices of dead empires.

The principle of Faith is yet to make a new Literature for nations and the world. The materials are among us, but the eye of genius has been heavy with slumber. The film and frost of custom conceal a thousand open truths. Almost the whole secret of discovery in science is *the perception and questioning of what is customary in a new light.* There are now floating in our atmosphere of knowledge

many common facts and observations, with connexions hidden by the veil of custom, and concealed like the future itself, but which are only waiting for a single question from some awakened mind, in some blessed mood of genius, in which this frosty veil is lifted, a single question like that addressed by Newton to the fall of an apple, which may well nigh open another universe of wonders. Now I apply this to the literature which is yet to be created out of the materials of Divine Truth and the workings of our spiritual being. And I am reminded of Mr. Coleridge's beautiful definition of genius: "To carry the feelings of childhood into the powers of manhood, to combine the child's sense of wonder and novelty with appearances, which every day for, perhaps, forty years has rendered familiar, —

With sun and moon and stars throughout the year,

And man and woman, —

this is the character and privilege of genius, and one of the marks, which distinguish genius from talents." If we apply this to religious things, we cannot but see that a state of mind is requisite in every man analogous to the experience of genius with common truth in its freshness, in regard to the perception of divine truth; and that this spiritual sense of the power and beauty of divine truth is essential to the perfection of a nation's literature. There is therefore a cause of illimitable power in the awakening and discipline of the mind of nations, as yet very little developed, but which is becoming every day more powerful. It is indi-

vidual regeneration by the Spirit of God, which is to the perception, relish, and influence of divine truth what genius is to the wonderful influence of nature. This is yet to do more in disciplining the mind of nations, and in creating and energizing the world's literature, than all other causes. The operation of this cause is absolutely essential to the perfection of literature. All the forms of literature hitherto known have been deformed and lifeless, in comparison with the beauty and glory of those it shall assume beneath the baptism of the Spirit of God, when its material becomes divine truth, or earthly truth transfigured with celestial glory.

It is not to be supposed for a moment that the presence or the absence of a religious atmosphere of thought and feeling would not create an entire difference in the productions of human genius. You might as well suppose that the vegetation at the bottom of the sea can be no way different from that, which, beneath the bright sun, or the dewy stars, invests the earth's surface with its fragrant, flowering verdure. As great a difference will there be between the literature of a world embalmed with the Spirit of Him who died to redeem it, and that which is the growth of ages that have gloomily rolled on in the rejection of that Spirit, as between the sweet bloom of creation in the open light of heaven, and the rough, dark recesses of submarine forests of sponges and corals. Such as is indicated in this last image has much of the world's literature proved hitherto; and, as it sea-monsters have whelped and stabled.

Now are we to behold a literature so full of all qualities

of loveliness and purity, such new regions of high thought and feeling before unimagined opened up in it to the mind, that to the dwellers in past days it should have seemed rather the production of angels than of men. Nor is this an imaginary view. The world and its literature, in its life without the Spirit of God, might powerfully remind the thoughtful observer of Plato's cave, and of the thoughts of its darkened inhabitants ; and when, from a higher elevation, the spirit gets a glimpse of reality, then, looking over the works and businesses of this great ant-hill of humanity, our globe, we seem to see bands of chained men, even as Plato describes them, counting the shadows of subterranean fires, and making idols of popularity, out of the subtle intellects that most clearly distinguish and describe those shadows. These things must have an end ; and when men learn, beautifully and truly remarks one of our great native poets,* the outward by the inward to discern, the inward by the Spirit, they shall win

Their way deep down into the soul. The light
Shed in by God shall open to the sight
Vast powers of being ; regions long untrod
Shall stretch before them filled with life and God.

All things shall breathe an air from upper climes. Then men listening, with the inward ear, —

The ocean of eternity shall hear
Along its coming waves ; and thou shalt see
Its spiritual waters as they roll through thee.

* Mr. Dana.

5. The next possession and element of National Greatness, which I must notice, is ~~THE~~ CHRISTIAN SABBATH. We possess this blessing through the goodness of God, in a greater purity perhaps than any other people. The permanence of our institutions, ~~the~~ perpetuity of our freedom, depends greatly upon the carefulness with which we guard and preserve it. Here I am compelled to say, that there is a great insensibility to the preciousness and the preserving power of this blessing. A thousand times better the austere strictness, with which our Puritan ancestors observed the holiness of this institution, than the looseness which too often characterizes their descendants in regard to it. In general, a nation's prosperity has been and is proportioned to the sacredness with which it keeps the Sabbath. The reasons are as simple and plain as the daylight. Wherever the Sabbath is kept, it makes holy and well educated families. It infuses into the poor and ignorant a sense of the blessings of cleanliness, knowledge, and virtue, and an ambition to possess them. It links the weeks of households, villages, cities, communities, with a golden chain of order and of love running through them. It is the education of a nation, where, one-seventh portion of our time, we are all at school together. It promotes industry, and yet checks it from overtasking the tired frame of the labourer or the working mind of the student, by the obligation of a heavenly leisure intervening. By recalling the busiest worshippers of Mammon from the vortex, and the din, and the strife of our external world of selfishness and avarice, to the quiet fireside, as

well as the solemnity of the Sanctuary, it increases our sense of the blessedness of home, makes homely blessings more precious, quickens the pulses of affectionate hearts in the ties of the family constitution, and prevents the utter weaning of the heart from home, in men who would otherwise live in the world and be of the world entirely.*

But this is not all : — our Sabbath is a day of sacred rest, but not of indolence ; it is a day of intellectual and spiritual awakening ; a day in which a great, onward, lofty impulse is given simultaneously to the minds of a whole people, in the bringing of themes before them, which are a study for the intellect of angels. So that the Sabbath, as God has in-

* The notice given by Wilberforce, of the suicide of Lord Castlereagh, as proceeding from the overtasking of his faculties on the Sabbath as on the week day, is strikingly in point :

“He was certainly deranged — the effect probably of continued wear and tear of mind. But the strong impression of my mind is, that it is the effect of the non-observance of the Sunday, both as abstracting from politics, from the constant recurrence of the same reflections, and as correcting the false views of worldly things, and bringing them down to their true diminutiveness. Poor Castlereagh ! I never was so shocked by any incident. He really was the last man in the world who appeared likely to be carried away into the commission of such an act ! So cool, so self-possessed. It is very curious to hear the newspapers speaking of incessant application to business, forgetting that by the weekly admission of a day of rest, which our Maker has graciously enjoined, our faculties would be preserved from the effects of this constant strain. I am strongly impressed by the recollection of your endeavour to prevail on the lawyers to give up Sunday consultations, in which poor Romilly would not concur.* If he had suffered his mind to enjoy such occasional remissions, it is highly probable the strings would never have snapped as they did, from over-tension. Alas ! alas ! poor fellow ! I did not think I should feel for him so very deeply.” — *Life of Wilberforce*, Vol. 5, page 134.

stituted it, does more to enlarge and invigorate a nation's mind, than all other causes. It is like a periodic inundation of the Nile, after which the week itself is sown and harvested with virtues and blessings. This, most certainly, is the grand reason for the intellectual superiority of Protestant over Catholic countries, where the Sabbath is merely a waste and dissipation of the national mind, and concurs, with other causes, with the multiplicity of other Feast Days, to sap the energies and morals of the people. In proportion as we neglect the Sabbath, we open the door to the same evils which every where meet the traveller in Romish countries.

This institution then is the constituted safeguard, in Divine Providence, of all our blessings. No nation can carelessly permit the habits of neglect and profanation of its sacredness to creep upon her cities, and not be deeply injured. Those Sabbath nuisances, that from time to time spring up through the profligacy of individuals, ought to be destroyed as soon as attempted. I have witnessed much profaning of the Sabbath, and in many forms ; in countries where such profanation was esteemed a virtue, and where, though allowed, it was esteemed a sin ; but, all things considered, I have never seen a more disgraceful form of such profanation, than here in this city, under the very eye of the authorities, prevails in the daily Sabbath sale of polluted and polluting public journals.

6. Connected with the Christian Sabbath, another element not merely of national greatness, but, considering the peculiar

nature of our institutions, of national existence, is that of **A CHRISTIAN EDUCATION**. Education alone will not save us. Much has been said, and justly, on the necessity of general intelligence as the ground-work of republican institutions ; and alarming facts are arrayed as to the increasing ignorance of the people of the United States. But intelligence alone is not the qualification which the peculiar nature of our institutions renders necessary. Goodness, moral goodness, is requisite, integrity of character, sincere patriotism. That this is that part of a Christian education, which is needed more than knowledge, I hesitate not to affirm. Without it, the universal diffusion of knowledge will but prepare this country to become a mere gladiatorial arena of contending parties, where pride, selfishness, passion in every shape, may have room to battle for the victory. Now, it is not Common Schools alone that can make a Christian education ; if they be separated from the Gospel, or the Gospel separated from them, it is plain that they do but train the evil in men's hearts for a more skilful, desperate, unprincipled conflict for victory, and what are called the spoils of victory.

There are two things needed in the common education of this country more than in that of any other country on earth ; *a religious morality*, and that great and noble quality, which, in spite of the priceless excellence of our institutions, and their claims upon our affections, we are in danger of losing, **A LOFTY PATRIOTISM**. The education demanded is one of self-discipline, self-government, and the merging of private ends in the common welfare. It is already proved that in

no country in the world are there so many temptations to private selfishness as in this ; temptations to convert our country's sacred service into a mean and miserable scramble for office. In other countries the frowning buttresses of despotism will stand, though private selfishness prevails and rages ; but our institutions are so open and etherial, ~~an~~ so complicated, and so delicate in their adjustment, they suppose so much sterling principle, such forgetfulness of self, such regard to truth and righteousness, that without these qualities they are nothing ; they cannot last, they are not fit for the government of a people destitute of self-discipline. Our government is indeed the government not so much of the people, as of themselves by the people ; and it would be a new thing indeed in the world, if a mass of men, by the mere circumstance of being massed together, should develop qualities, which they do not possess personally and singly. Our government is an attempt to disprove the bitter sarcasm of tyrants, that mankind cannot govern themselves ; and in truth mankind have generally been so destitute of moral principle, that they have had to appoint perpetual dictators against the violence of their own passions. Be assured that if men had been fit to govern themselves, they would have done it ; despots would have been monsters unknown. Most fearlessly do I assert that men do *not* know how to govern themselves except by the guidance of God's Spirit. This fits men for self-government, but we know of nothing else that will. A common school education which consists in mere intelligence, will never produce

this fitness. I repeat it, a **CHRISTIAN EDUCATION** is supposed, as absolutely necessary, as the ground of permanence and success in our institutions. Let a single generation grow up without it, and though ever so saturated with knowledge, we are lost. If our common schools and other educational interests be penetrated with the influences of the Gospel, we are saved. The Sabbath and the Pulpit constitute a most essential part of the education, as well as the manly discipline, of this country. The Pulpit, the Sabbath, and the Common School, will all have to unite in the incessant application of holy influences, as well as the communication of knowledge, if our country's institutions are to be preserved.

7. Here then we have developed another element of national greatness, which hitherto the world has utterly neglected, but without which, though nations may be great in despotism and misery, and the grandeur which attends them, they cannot be great in liberty and happiness. This element is the presence of **THE REGENERATING SPIRIT OF GOD**. Without this, we cannot exist in our present form of government, though we may exist, split into despotisms, contending and warring, enacting over again the same scenes that have filled the history of Europe for ages. The lovers of liberty and the friends of their race in Europe have been looking to us with bright and steadfast hope; but they cannot look to us, if they do not look to God. We have indeed a glorious framework, if the Spirit of God imbue it; but how little do

they think of that. They have been looking to our institutions, as we have ourselves, for salvation ; but already their courage begins to fail, not from any thing disastrous in the institutions, but from what they see in the people. Now our institutions can no more make a free and noble people, than a church liturgy can make a holy church. It is the people that must breathe the life of freedom into their institutions, as it is the heart that must breathe its piety into prayer, or no form can create it, though it were moulded by the hand of God. It may be that God means to demonstrate to the world, by permitting our passions, our selfishness, our atheism, to make the dreadful experiment, how perfectly inefficacious without the Divine Spirit, are the very best institutions, which the cultivated wisdom and piety of ages could discover or frame, to restrain men's wickedness or to make them free and happy. God grant the world may be spared so fearful a demonstration ; six thousand years have been filled with such developements ; and yet this may be necessary as a last one, and a most significant and solemn lesson it would read. We grasp at shadows, we weary ourselves in vain, we lean upon a broken reed, which will pierce us, if we look any where below God. I have been told that recently the great French statesman and philosopher, M. Guizot, has written to a friend in this country, imploring him, if possible, to give the anxious friends of liberty in the old world some hope. But Guizot does not dream of God's Spirit ; and his friend should tell him, what multitudes in this country have yet to learn, that without the baptism of that Spirit, though instead of the

dark clouds that seem to his vision to be gathering, all indications were as bright as the sun, and placid and pure as a day in midsummer, if the whole hope of the world centred in our institutions, it would fail. Chains, says Cowper,

Chains are the portion of revolted man,
Stripes and a dungeon:—

and he finds them all three, the Christian poet adds, in his own body, in his own being, until he turns to God. This is the truth inculcated in Burke's powerful language,—**IT IS WRITTEN IN THE ETERNAL CONSTITUTION OF THINGS, THAT MEN OF INTEMPERATE MINDS CANNOT BE FREE. THEIR PASSIONS FORGE THEIR FETTERS.**

There is then no hope for us, but in the outpouring of the Spirit of God ; for this it is the duty of every Christian patriot to plead, to be "night and day praying exceedingly."

To corroborate this view let us now glance for a moment at some of the dangers which threaten us, some of the influences, which are working, both secretly and openly, to blast our hopes. Wherever God has been sowing good seed in the world, the enemy has been sowing tares. Into the seed-corn, which God took out of Egypt, the Enemy threw his handful ; it was enough ; and after forty years winnowing in the wilderness, still it was there. It grew betimes into a strong overpowering crop, so that while the corn was dwarfed and sickly, the tares, as in their native soil, rose up a dark, dense forest. This time it was Idolatry. It was an

infusion from the habits of demon worship on the Nile. Three thousand years after this, the seed which God took out of Judea was the best in the world. But the Enemy was there. With stealthy, noiseless tread he passed among the churches, dropping his germs of evil, and with luxuriant growth they filled all nations, their overshadowing foliage shutting out the light, and baleful dews and fruits dropping from the branches. This time it was Popery. It was an infusion of germs from the effete traditions of Judaism. Once more — the seed which God collected to sow in this Continent was the best in the world. For some of it He winnowed three kingdoms; and yet the Enemy was there. This time it was not Idolatry, it was not Popery, it was SLAVERY. He dropped his seed quietly into the earth, and went his way. Two hundred annual suns have ripened it. It is a question yet to be decided: Will it destroy our institutions? Manifold are the dangers which arise out of it, fearful are the evils which it brings in its train.

There is a rule, according to which every government should be framed, and all national policy determined, as strictly as individual conduct. Our government, more than any other in the world, professes to regard it. "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." We are but beginning to feel the evils, which the violation of this rule must work among us, if it be persisted in. Indeed, there is no infraction of this rule, but, sooner or later, will work its revenge. There is no injury to the feelings, but makes its mark upon the universe. The universe is as

a sort of electric telegraph, to take up the moans of the helpless, and to write them in letters indestructible even by the final conflagration. Nor is there a plaint ever falls ~~from~~ injured humanity, but it falls into the ear of God, and waits its appointed time of judgment. Thou, O man, that walkest amidst the ruins of thine own producing, that seest but thine own will before thee, and waterest thy backward path with the tears of those that come lamenting after, thou shalt walk again amidst these scenes of thine own carelessness and self-indulgence; thou shalt, led by the *ΕΚΥΝΤΙΣ* of thine own mind, the serpent-haired slave-driver of oppressors, retrace the desolate spots of trampled rights and injured feelings, where every step shall be as over a burning marle, but ten thousand times more agonizing, than if thou wert treading amidst the penal fires of fallen angels.

This is a sad subject, and yet there is hope, even in the evils we may suffer. There is a discipline of nations as of individuals; and with nations, as with individuals, there is a precious jewel in adversity. It is a mistake to suppose that uninterrupted national prosperity is the path to national greatness. Here as well as there, nationally as well as individually, the beautiful language of Cowper may be applied:

The path of sorrow, and that path alone,
Leads to the land where sorrow is unknown.

Men must be tried, nations must be tried; and the evil that will not be persuaded out of them must be burned out of them. Especially must this be the case, if God is going

to use them remarkably for his purposes. The temper of the weapon must be proved, the latent flaws must be developed and worked off, the evil tendencies, that in a new and untried scene of being would break out and disappoint a noble design of its execution, must be revealed and extirpated. When the design is on the eve of its accomplishment, there must be no springing of the materials, no breaking of the instruments, no turning of their edges.

Now it may be that God will work this evil of slavery out of us, by the great evils which it causes us to suffer. With nations as with individuals, God may use their own sins as the means of chastising and correcting them, even while he spares them, and means still to use them for his own glory. Here is our hope; and I confess that in some aspects of the subject, it seems to be our only hope.

Permit me once more on this point to refer you to a man, whose pages I can never open without admiration, whose wisdom I can never contemplate without reverence; a man who, though born and educated the most chivalrous and loyal of monarchists, promulgated sentiments that our Republic would do well to build upon; — the illustrious Edmund Burke. "There is a time," he says, "when men will not suffer bad things because their ancestors suffered worse. There is a time, when the hoary head of inveterate abuse will neither draw reverence, nor obtain protection. I do most seriously put it to administration, to consider the wisdom of a timely reform. Early reformatations are amicable arrangements with a friend in power; late reformatations are terms

imposed upon a conquered enemy: early reformatations are made in cool blood; late reformatations are made under a state of inflammation. In that state of things the people behold in government nothing that is respectable. They see the abuse, and they will see nothing else. They fall into the temper of a furious populace, provoked at the disorder of a house of ill-fame; they never attempt to correct or regulate; they go to work by the shortest way. They abate the nuisance, they pull down the house."

A second danger which I shall mention arises from the base and unprincipled means and instruments employed in this country by the demon of Party Spirit. Men will soon become debauched and unprincipled themselves, who will resort to unprincipled helpers. The materials of this evil come to us from abroad. The North and the South ought to have united in protecting this country from the shoals of ignorant and vicious emigration that pour in upon us from the old world. The admission of them as native elements is like opening a vein and injecting a virulent poison in the system. The most iron constitution would sink beneath such a process. But to think of these dregs from the putrid sinks of Europe being bought at a price, being ravenously snatched at by the Spirit of Party! It is a most enormous, most insufferable wrong.

I am not willing to be misunderstood, nor am I afraid of it by any candid mind. I do not forget, no patriot ever can, how much we owe to the disinterested friendship of intelli-

gent and virtuous foreigners. We have had a Lafayette to fight side by side with Washington the battles of our native land, in the hour of our peril ; and when he came to his adopted country, to see its prosperity, in his old age, we received him with the joy and filial reverence of children towards a long absent parent. No ! we love to enumerate all that we owe to the patriotism of foreigners ; but we love to remember that they have been patriots, not hirelings. We love the virtuous and intelligent families of foreigners, domesticated and naturalized among us. Some of them are among our own most true and valued personal friends. We love to consider our Country as the asylum of liberty for the oppressed in all the world ; but not an asylum for the wicked, the abandoned, the profligate, the "unwhipt of justice," for those who, in their own country, would only fill the poor-houses and the jails. It is a very different thing to make this country an asylum for the oppressed, and to make ✓ it the Botany Bay of all Europe. How often have we heard the sarcasms of foreigners on the riots that have broken out among us ! How often, nay, how constantly have the materials of such riots, the materials of our disgrace in the eyes of Europe, been found in the sediment of that torrent of emigration, which they themselves have poured over us !

It seems a melancholy thing that we could not, for a season, have been shut out from all communication with the old world, and left to grow up and knit into manhood with our native materials. It is a most undeniable fact, that in many respects persons are not fitted to take part in our

government even as voters, who have not been, for some good period at least, educated among us. There is needed some little practical knowledge of our institutions, some sort of acquaintance with their workings, some insight into the relative action of parties, and some knowledge of the many and complicated currents of influences among us, over which a patriotic and intelligent voter must keep watch, if he would not be the mere tool of others. I have been pleased with a recent conversation on this point with a most enlightened and patriotic foreigner, one who loves his own country and therefore loves ours, and who looks with deep anxiety on the tide of foreign emigration that sets, at the direction of our enemies, into our ballot boxes. Gladly, said he, would I relinquish my privilege as a voter, could I help you to ward off the evil that I see you suffering from the multitudes of foreign paupers and venal masses of men, that threaten to undermine your institutions.

Another intelligent and excellent foreigner expressed the opinion that twenty-one years' residence in this country ought to be required by law before voting ; at least as long as a native citizen is obliged to spend from the birth, before he can enjoy this privilege. In fact, without some such requisition, we degrade ourselves in comparison with all other nations. We put a premium upon the foreigner, and we open our dearest interests to the undermining efforts of all forms of Jesuitism in the world. Little would there be to fear from the efforts of Roman Catholics among us, if a

twenty-one years' residence, or the half of it were necessary before foreigners could vote. The temptation to buy votes and to sell them, to bribe and to be bribed, and to drag foreign paupers to the polls as soon as they are landed, would be in great measure taken away. The greatest sources of evil in our elections would be cut off, and the whole play of our affairs would be easier and fairer.

In general, it is a fact that those affinities which lead men to emigrate to this country do not indicate the right sort of character for our institutions. The radicalism of Europe is not what we want. The Radicals of Europe are not fit to be Republicans. Loyalty is a virtue; but those who pour in upon us from Europe are too often loyal to nothing but ignorance and unsettled principles. I would a thousand times rather have a tide of emigration from the strongest tories; for a man who is not loyal to his king in a country like England, will have no patriotism at all in a Republic like ours. If the kingdoms of Europe had conspired for our destruction, they could not have adopted a more judicious plan, than to roll over us a ground-wave from their own uneducated population. The ignorant, venal, miscreant character of a great portion of it, forms one of our greatest dangers. This is an evil that increases all our native evils, whatever they may be.

Another evil which I must notice is this,—the want of a sense of national responsibility, the want of a national conscience. We are not worse than England in this respect.

forbid! — but this gives us no high character: and it
 be remembered that a degree of wickedness, which in a
 monarchy and a profligate aristocracy is expected, and
 hardly noticed, and which is but as another coating of moss
 over the weather-beaten castles of oppression, may shake
 our institutions to pieces. "The best governments," said
 Lord Bacon, in one of his excellent aphorisms, "are always
 subject to be like the fairest crystals, wherein every icicle
 or grain is seen, which in a fouler stone is never perceived."
 A disregard of rectitude and a violence and cruelty of inva-
 sion on our part, like that which has marked the unprincipled
 career of England in China and Afghanistan, would have
 turned the whole world against us.

We have the evil of a national conscience warped by con-
 flicting interests among State governments. At the iniquitous
 suit, and under the rapacious outcry of one of our States, a
 national treaty with the Indians is no more regarded than a
 parchment of the dark ages. One or two acts of public
 fraud upon large masses, allowed or connived at by the
 government, will go far to compromit its principles; and be-
 sides, will set an example to the State governments that
 cannot fail to be followed. If the government of the United
 States begin with injustice and oppression, no matter upon
 what class, or for what supposed necessity, the government
 of the States will continue the career in public repudiation,
 and then private corporations will follow the example in
 enormous acts of swindling, and private individuals and
 fraudulent bankrupts and defaulters will complete the game.

Corruption thus may spread to the heart's core, while yet every thing external looks fair and flourishing. This monstrous form of public debauchery, the repudiation of State debts, rivals the catalogue of State vices all the world over. The burning indignation and sarcasm of a Juvenal ~~would~~ have found nothing to surpass it in meanness, in cowardice, in falsehood, in iniquity, even among the rotting corruptions of public and private morality in the carcass of the Roman Empire. And what argues, and no wonder that it should, to the mind of observers from abroad, a portentous dereliction of moral principle and public conscience throughout the whole country, is the callousness, the apathy, the cool endurance, with which the proposition of such perfidious, such swindling, such sweeping insolvency has been received. Surely, if we go on in this way, we shall become a by-word to the nations. It will no longer be *Punica fides* that points the moral of the school-boy, and tips the arrow of the public satirist with gall.

Another evil which I shall notice, and a great danger, because it springs partly out of the freedom we enjoy, is to be found in the nature, prevalence, and power of our Newspaper Literature. It is left in great measure to chance, or to the upturnings of political party scum, who shall be its leaders, and what may be its shape; and yet there is nothing that should be guarded with more watchfulness, nothing into which the spirit of a pure morality and high political honour, and true patriotism, is more needful to be breathed.

There is nothing of such mighty power among us, no machinery that will exert a more inevitable influence either to bless or to destroy. The influence of our newspapers upon our higher literature is deplorable ; but this would be nothing if the public utterances of our newspapers were utterances of truth. They are becoming a school of Sophists worse than ever were bred in the literature of Greece. As to the Sophists in that country, the opinion of Schlegel that the political purity of the Grecian governments was at last entirely overthrown by them is deeply to be pondered ; for the same sophistry may reign here, which there had the merit of creating a spirit of corruption and debasement, which neither party-strife, nor protracted wars, nor foreign bribery, nor bloody revolutions, had been able to produce. No Sophists ever walked beneath the open air of that delicious clime, and taught the people, whose influence was to be compared to that of the daily issues of the newspaper press in this country. Nor can we speak the painfulness of our emotions, when we see these daily schools of thousands of our people under the care of mere hirelings ; when we see some of the leading journals of our land in the hands of men utterly destitute of moral principle.

I shall mention but one more danger ; it is connected with the prevalence of Romanism. Men have sometimes descanted on the danger of an *imperium in imperio*. Looking at the universal nature of Romanism as developed in the world's history, I confess that I am afraid of it. The Ro-

manists move in close phalanx. There is a power in the Vatican at Rome, which they still acknowledge ; they are proud of it ; and never yet has one of the assumptions of ~~that~~ MAN OF SIN, who still "sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God," been laid aside. It is an amusing picture that Bunyan has drawn of the Pope in his cave, as a rheumatic old giant, biting his lips, and mumbling between his teeth to the passing pilgrims, "You will never mend till more of you are burned." There are signs in some quarters of Giant Grim's rheumatism being cured. At all events, he still has an arm long enough to reach across the Atlantic ; and if it be true that the Roman Catholic voters in this country will move at his bidding, then, since it is true that the phalanx of such voters is strong enough to sway the balance between parties, there may be some probability in the assertion that ten years will not pass away, before the President of these United States will be nominated in the Vatican. That Romanism is the same in this country as in the old world, is sufficiently manifest from its hostility against the Scriptures. We have witnessed in this very State a monstrous act of sacrilege in an *Auto da fe* of Romanists for the burning of the Word of God, and two hundred Bibles were committed to the flames ! I confess that I am afraid of the action of Romanism upon my country's liberties. I am afraid of the influence of whatever is afraid of the Bible. If there be a sect that lives by shutting out the light, in a country like ours, such a system is dangerous. It has been remarked with great point and power,

